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# Deliverances

United Presbyterians Speak — 1959

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*July 1959*

# From This Vantage Point

In this issue of Social Progress we present the social deliverances of the 171st General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which met in Indianapolis during the last week of May. We are including an extensive, and we hope useful, commentary on the pronouncements which is intended to be descriptive and interpretive. We hardly need to remind our readers that while the pronouncements are "official" in that they are the actions of the General Assembly, the commentary is by no means to be regarded as an official interpretation. The comments have authority only in terms of the wisdom and integrity of the members of the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action who wrote them.

In pronouncing on current social issues through its General Assembly, the United Presbyterian Church acts in its very best and highest tradition. It is part of our Reformed heritage that we are interested in and concerned about the events of our time and that we should seek to shed the light of God upon all aspects of man's life.

The pronouncements this year touch upon a variety of topics—race relations, collective bargaining, capital punishment, the problems of alcohol, planned parenthood, international relations. In the statements on capital punishment and planned parenthood the General Assembly ventures into new territory. It should be noted that pronouncements of other years are still in effect.

As to the meaning and authority of the General Assembly deliverances on social questions, we would refer the reader to the article on pages 32–38, which deals with both the process by which the pronouncements are produced and their meaning for the churches and their members.

We are grateful to the Stated Clerk for permission to use a reproduction of the new seal of the General Assembly on the cover of this issue of Social Progress.

*—SEA Staff*

# *Social Deliverances of the 171st General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.*

**As adopted from the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action in Indianapolis, Ind., May 27, 1959**

## INTRODUCTION

**Believing that Jesus Christ, the Head of the church, is also the Lord of all life, and**

**Being convinced that obedience to our Lord's commandment to love our neighbor requires that the church work to achieve a more just social order, and that achieving a more just social order requires not only the redemption of individuals but also the changing of patterns and corporate structures of society, which so profoundly influence the life of the individual,**

**The 171st General Assembly exercises its prophetic responsibility to speak to the church, to society, and to government in the following areas:**

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### Commentary on *INTRODUCTION*

Counseling Committees and Standing Committees in the past have been confronted with a persistent problem: how can a particular social issue be related explicitly or implicitly to some doctrinal or Scriptural insight?

This problem has been insoluble for at least two reasons. In the first place, there is no simple and direct line from the gospel or any of its parts to the complex social issues of a highly organized society such as our own. In the second place, where such a direct line has been sought, the results have been inevitably an illegitimate use of proof texts, lifted bodily from the Bible and twisted so as to make them seem to say what a particular statement wished them to say.

In its more sophisticated form, the proof-text method has developed in some groups into a tendency to evolve "a theology" for virtually everything. Carried to its extreme, this tendency ends up with a theology of soil conservation, a theology of race relations, a theology of public housing, etc.

Both Counseling Committees and Standing Committees have avoided

## RACE RELATIONS

### Freedom of Association

**Observing that certain states, by legislative and procedural innovations, have abridged the civil liberties of persons and groups active in the attempt to achieve racial desegregation,**

**Distinguishing between the right of the states within the limits set by the Federal Constitution to regulate institutions serving the general public, and the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of individuals voluntarily to associate with one another in lawful organizations,**

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these facile temptations, and pronouncements in recent years have been prefaced with a statement that has sought to reaffirm, as the ground from which springs all of our church's responses to God's sovereign actions in the social order, a brief statement of the fundamental assumptions of our Reformed theology as it relates to the problem of public policy.

The theological preface of the pronouncements this year is perhaps the simplest and most concise one to have come from the committees in the last several General Assemblies. It resulted partially from a conscious effort on the part of the Standing Committee to avoid the use of either technical theology, or a full-blown and exhaustive statement of the whole structure of Reformed theology.

The statement is simple almost to a fault. It asserts four things: one, the sovereign rule of God embodied in the Lordship of Christ over all his creations; two, the unavoidable interrelationship between love and justice implied in the second of the great commandments; three, the corporate nature of our society and the consequent inadequacy of a simple, private, and individualistic morality; and four, the inescapable responsibility of the church to speak to and act upon the corporate structures of our world.

## Commentary on *RACE RELATIONS*

### *Freedom of Association*

This section of the pronouncements addresses itself to a threat to civil liberties that has arisen within the context of the race problem. It asserts that something even more fundamental than the segregation-desegregation issue is at stake in America today—the very "rules of the game," by which social and political disagreements can be resolved in a free society without that society itself being destroyed in the process.

The authors of the Bill of Rights wisely saw that the right of peaceful assembly, which has come to include freedom of individuals to associate

**Being familiar with such devices as (1) laws denying state employees' rights to belong to lawful organizations or associations the aims of which are the achievement of legitimate social goals, (2) laws requiring disclosure of membership lists of such organizations with the result that members are exposed to economic and social reprisal, (3) laws exacting exorbitant registration requirements and punitive license fees from such organizations, (4) laws designed to prohibit organized support of civil rights litigation, (5) laws assigning undefined "emergency powers" to executive officers of state governments, and (6) legislative investigations that do not uncover facts but harass and punish, without due process, groups and individuals supporting unpopular causes,**

**Believing that such devices are as ungodly as they are unconstitutional, and**

**Anticipating that such devices, which today are directed against efforts to achieve racial desegregation, can tomorrow be directed against any legitimate cause, even religious liberty, and can thus imperil the principle of voluntary association, which is essential in a democratic society,**

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and organize together for common lawful purposes, is indispensable to a free and open society.

This freedom periodically becomes endangered because society is repeatedly tempted to exempt from it organizations whose goals seem to conflict with the prevailing majority sentiment. At various times in our history to take away the right of peaceful assembly (or freedom of association) from Jehovah's Witnesses, from labor unions, or from so-called "hate groups" like Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade. At these times, the thoughtful American is moved to say, "I may heartily oppose your efforts, but I will defend your right to exist and continue them."

Since the historic 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court decisions on school desegregation, the organization that has been most effective (and therefore most unpopular with those who disagreed with the decisions) in bringing about reluctant compliance has been the NAACP. Its method has been mainly court litigation.

A widespread reaction to the "success" of the NAACP has been state legislation with either the avowed or implicit intent of "putting the NAACP out of business" at the state level. Some of this legislation has been strikingly effective.

Examples of such legislation are laws cited in the pronouncement. Legislative investigations also have helped smear the NAACP as a "communist" or "red-front" organization.

United Presbyterians, whether they believe desegregation ought to come rapidly, slowly, or not at all, are called upon to protest and oppose such "innovations" for at least four reasons: (1) as Christians they are by definition committed to defend the freedom of every human being as one created in the image of God and for whom Christ died; (2) as Presbyterians they should know that many of those who are having their freedom taken away are "our own" fellow Presbyterians—many Negro Presbyterians are members of the NAACP, which frequently meets in their churches, and not a few Negro Presbyterian pastors are officers in the NAACP, whose wives

**The 171st General Assembly**

**Cautions United Presbyterians that they should not support or tolerate such assaults on the God-given and constitutionally guaranteed rights of all citizens under the mistaken notion that they are merely defending a racial arrangement they happen to prefer, and**

**Calls upon United Presbyterians to defend the right of every lawful organization or association, especially those under attack, to work to achieve legitimate social goals, lest the very fabric of our democratic system itself be destroyed.**

### Voting Rights

**Believing that full voting rights for all American citizens of voting age are fundamental to the securing of other civil rights,**

**Having cause to believe that such rights are currently being denied to some American citizens because of their racial origin, and**

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teach in the public schools and therefore are threatened with the loss of their jobs; (3) as loyal Americans they ought to be the first to come to the defense of any basic constitutionally guaranteed right under attack; and (4) as intelligent, imaginative human beings they should recognize that the authority that takes away the right of a citizen to belong to the NAACP can, once it is granted, take away their right to belong to any voluntary association, even conceivably the church.

The original recommendation mentioned the NAACP specifically and by name: "Being familiar with such devices as (1) laws denying state employees' rights to belong to lawful organizations *such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.*" During the floor debate at the General Assembly a Southern commissioner asked that the specific reference to the NAACP be deleted so that the pronouncement could be used in our white churches in the South without arousing resentment. On motion, the original statement was amended to its present form.

### *Voting Rights*

The Federal Civil Rights Commission was created by act of Congress in mid-1957. It did not begin to function, for want of Senate confirmation of its Staff Director, until well into 1958. Unless its life is continued by Congress, it will expire in September of 1959.

The powers granted to the Commission are extremely limited. Generally speaking, it can only gather information and report its findings. But within these limits, it has functioned remarkably well in spite of lack of co-operation, even open defiance, in some locales.

The Civil Rights Commission has done two important things: (1) appointed in almost every state a State Advisory Committee of responsible citizens to work with it, and (2) held public hearings to find facts in three areas of civil rights: housing, education, and voting.

Members of these State Advisory Committees have in some states been subject to prolonged social pressure. In Tennessee, for example, three members of the Committee resigned

**Having observed the work of the United States Civil Rights Commission during the first year of its active operation,**

**The 171st General Assembly**

**Commends the Commission for its wisdom in setting up State Advisory Committees and for its fairness in holding public hearings,**

**Petitions the 86th Congress to establish the Civil Rights Commission as a permanent agency and to grant it such additional powers as may be needed to increase its effectiveness, and**

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under the most intense kind of pressure, including threats to their lives and businesses. One of the members of the SEA Counseling Committee (Mrs. Ben Russell, of Greeneville) is a member of the Tennessee State Advisory Committee.

Public hearings held by the Federal Civil Rights Commission have uncovered shocking violations of civil rights. For example, in New York the Commission discovered that systematic exclusion of Negroes and other minority persons from white residential areas was typical, rather than exceptional. This helped maintain racially segregated public schools.

However, just as the passage of Fair Employment Practices laws in some states has helped decrease discrimination in employment, so also the passage of other types of state civil rights legislation (or the elimination of state laws *requiring* discrimination) can speed up the extension of racial justice.

Securing "good" legislation and abolishing "bad" requires the exercise of the ballot. Where voting rights are taken away from minorities (or not exercised) the road to justice is even longer and steeper. This is why the pronouncement emphasizes the fundamental importance of voting rights to the securing of other civil rights, such as the right to attend the school of one's choice, or buy the house of one's choice.

A final word about the Commission: one of its problems is securing and holding competent staff people—the core of its effectiveness. Trained and experienced professionals are loathe to leave present positions for a brief and temporary tour of duty with a Government agency that may not be in existence two years hence.

This fact, plus the certainty that civil rights violations in housing, public education, and voting will be with us for some years to come, indicates the wisdom of making the Civil Rights Commission a "permanent" Federal agency.

If the votes can be found in Congress (and a Senate filibuster be avoided) to enlarge the powers of the Commission, so much the better. This pronouncement on voting rights asks for both.

It also calls upon Presbyterians to "enlist in the effort to secure full voting rights." The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has for many months conducted "voters clinics" to prepare Negro citizens for the ordeal of trying to register and vote, and to apprize them of their constitutional rights. United Church Women have in some localities acted as poll watchers and reported to the Civil Rights Commission any observed violations of reg

**Calls upon United Presbyterians to enlist in the effort to secure full voting rights for all American citizens.**

### Executive Action by Federal Agencies

**Being assured by recent history that the Chief Executive and the administrative agencies of the Federal Government play a major role in the movement toward racial equality in our country,**

**Noting that millions of dollars from the public treasury, received as taxes from persons of all races, are allotted every year to the several states through a variety of Federal grants-in-aid, loans, and subsidies,**

**Having good reason to believe that much of this public tax money, in effect, subsidizes and perpetuates local, state, and regional patterns of racial injustice throughout the entire country by financing in whole or in part such benefits as (1) state employment services, (2) contracts and subcontracts let by states under the Federal Highway Act of 1956, (3) construction of air terminals under the Civil Aeronautics Act, (4) grants to public schools suffering from the impact of military installations, (5) grants to secondary school systems under the George-Barden Act, and (6) grants for public housing projects, a number of which are administered locally on a racially segregated or discriminatory basis, and**

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istration procedures or voting rights.

United Presbyterians are urged to get into the struggle.

### *Executive Action by Federal Agencies*

It is important to note the difference between what can be expected from Federal *legislation* as over against Federal *executive* action.

Real break-throughs on the civil rights front cannot presently be expected to come from Federal legislation. However, real break-throughs have come from Federal executive action. One good example was Executive Order 8802 issued by the President in June of 1941. That order declared that job discrimination in Government contract work was contrary to public policy. Presently, the President's Committee on Government Contracts sees that every Federal contract has a clause prohibiting job discrimination by the contractor. The constitutional assumption, which has never been successfully challenged, is that Federal public tax money cannot be used to promote acts that are against public policy—in this instance, discrimination in employment.

Another example of spectacularly successful results from Federal executive action has been the desegregation of the Armed Forces and the opening up of many enlisted ratings and officer candidate opportunities formerly closed to nonwhite military personnel. Both these advances came without legislative action by the Congress.

The pronouncement on executive action by Federal agencies draws attention to six categories in which there is strong reason to believe Federal public tax money is being used, not intentionally but nevertheless effectively, to subsidize and perpetuate local patterns of racial injustice.

For example, the Federal Housing Administrator has publicly stated that all particular programs of pub-

**Taking cognizance of the fact that some Federal administrative agencies have not used their rule-making powers and administrative discretion to carry out a policy of nondiscrimination, but through attitudes of strict neutrality have actually re-enforced existing patterns of discrimination,**

**The 171st General Assembly**

**Petitions the Executive Department of the Federal Government to require that public tax money be used on a racially nondiscriminatory basis in a manner comparable to that which has already been employed in the letting of Government contracts.**

### Residential Desegregation

**Being convinced that widespread patterns of residential segregation effectively help to preserve racial segregation in both public and private institutions,**

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lic housing are locally initiated and that decisions regarding patterns of racial occupancy are made locally. Meanwhile, 80 per cent of all Federal public housing is segregated, and less than 1 per cent of FHA-supported housing developments is available to nonwhite home buyers.

This pronouncement calls upon the Executive Department of the Federal Government to reiterate the doctrine that racial segregation and discrimination are contrary to public policy, and to initiate steps that will stop the expenditure of public funds to support local and state patterns of such injustices.

### *Residential Desegregation*

The inability of a Negro to buy a house wherever his money and his desires lead him is the North's "*moral* equivalent" of the South's problem of segregated public schools.

Documentation of the extent to which forces of economic reality, public and private opinion, Government policy, real estate and lending institution practice perpetuate and enforce patterns of segregation in housing is available in one of the most significant studies of the decade *Where Shall We Live?* (University of California Press, Berkeley, $1.50.)

This report is the product of a three-year study by an independent citizens' group, formed in 1955, and named the Commission on Race and Housing. On the Commission were some very distinguished (and conservative) Americans like Henry Luce, of *Time, Life, Fortune;* Stanley Marcus, of Dallas' famous Nieman-Marcus department store; Earl Schwulst, president of New York's Bowery Savings Bank; and Gordon Allport, Professor of Psychology at Harvard. *Where Shall We Live?* is anything but a document from the hands of radicals, and deserves careful study in United Presbyterian churches that take seriously the General Assembly's repeated goal of a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society.

A good companion study can be found in the September, 1958, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS "Residential Desegregation—The Church's New Frontier."

Two highly significant new developments have taken place within the past two or three years. One is the

**Noting the publication of the report of the Commission on Race and Housing (entitled *Where Shall We Live?*), which analyzes the housing market in relation to public attitudes and the functions of realtors, builders, lending institutions, and Federal agencies, and**

**Believing that state legislation which makes discrimination in the sale and rental of dwellings unlawful under certain specified conditions is urgently needed in most states in order to help create a nondiscriminatory housing market,**

**The 171st General Assembly**

**Commends those churches which have engaged their members in covenants of open occupancy and urges others to follow this example, thus assisting the movement toward residential desegregation,**

**Urges careful study of the report of the Commission on Race and Housing in local churches and in presbytery social education and action committees, looking toward corporate support of such of its recommendations as are judged most pertinent to their locality, and**

**Urges United Presbyterian Church judicatories publicly to support the passage of fair housing legislation in those states where such legislation has been or can be introduced.**

### Reordering Our Own House

**Recalling past deliverances that lift up the goal of a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society and seek to give guidance to Christians, churches, judicatories, boards, and agencies of our church, and**

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increasing number of states that have passed or are seeking to pass fair housing legislation. The second is the increasing numbers of churches that have engaged members in covenants of open occupancy.

In fact, this phrase, which was first used in the General Assembly Pronouncements of 1956, is apparently catching on in other communions and secular organizations. In West Hartford, Connecticut; Palo Alto, California; and Lincoln, Nebraska, to name only three, full-page newspaper advertisements (available free from Department of Social Education and Action) have listed the names of hundreds of local persons who publicly committed themselves "to welcome new neighbors of good character without respect to their color, creed, or national origin."

But just as it took state FEPC laws to turn the tide in employment discrimination, it is also likely that state fair housing legislation is the most-needed instrument to permit those who do not want to discriminate to act according to their convictions, and to turn the tide against segregation in housing.

Such legislation exists in four states and is before the legislature in at least five others. It desperately needs the support of United Presbyterians.

### *Reordering Our Own House*

Pronouncements for the past several years have spoken more thoroughly and explicitly to problems of race relations than to any other public issue. The statement this year "fills in the gaps" on some important aspects of these problems.

**Recognizing that, while great strides toward that goal have been made in both church and society, it still has not been achieved,**

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But the way the churches behave both influences and is influenced by public policy and the climate of public opinion. Presbyterians, as individuals and as judicatories, may be no better or worse than anyone else. But they dare not, before God, ignore their own behavior by concentrating on that of the state and of society.

In the case of particular congregations, something like 10 per cent of our churches are racially desegregated. Nearly 80 per cent of our congregations are all-white and located in all-white parishes, i.e., they have no nonwhite "constituency" to "admit" into their fellowship.

Approximately one half (or about 650) of those congregations situated in racially mixed parishes are also racially mixed in varying degrees. (See September, 1958, SOCIAL PROGRESS.)

Also two formerly segregated Negro synods (Canadian and Blue Ridge) have merged with two formerly segregated white synods (Oklahoma and Mid-South). Presbytery mergers within the latter synod merger are still taking place. Florida Synod (white) has received eight Negro churches, located within its boundaries and formerly belonging to Atlantic Synod (Negro), and their reception into Florida presbyteries has been accomplished. These mergers have not taken place without considerable psychic and ecclesiastical cost to "both sides."

Atlantic and Catawba Synods (both Negro) constitute unique problems by way of integration. They encompass four states (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia) in which only a tiny number of white United Presbyterian churches are located. Strictly and objectively speaking (i.e., being "color-blind") these white congregations "ought" to be received into the Negro synods. Reality, however, suggests the impossibility of such integration taking place in the foreseeable future.

**Two years ago, in 1957, the** General Assembly directed the Department of Social Education and Action "to develop a comprehensive, effective, unified program for the whole church to achieve a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society," and called upon "ministers and sessions, presbyteries and synods, and boards and agencies to cooperate in this effort." An Advisory Committee, called "The Committee of Eighteen," was set up to give strategic guidance to the department in this vital area of responsibility.

The Committee of Eighteen numbers among its members some of the best-informed and strategically located churchmen in our denomination—some of whom are: Eugene Carson Blake, our Stated Clerk; Furman Templeton, Executive Director of the Baltimore Urban League; Herman L. Turner, Pastor of Atlanta's Covenant Presbyterian Church (and candidate for Moderator at the Gen-

**The 171st General Assembly**

**Commends those congregations which have acknowledged the leading of the Holy Spirit into a fellowship that knows no racial or cultural barriers and those formerly separate all-white and all-Negro judicatories which by mutual sacrifice and statesmanship have successfully united, and**

**Calls upon our whole church and its members to labor unceasingly toward the goal to which God is calling us.**

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eral Assembly); Alexander Sharp, Administrative Secretary of our Board of National Missions; James Colston, President of Knox College in Tennessee; Frank T. Wilson, Secretary for Education of our Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations; and David Freeman (Chairman of the Committee), attorney and an Executive Vice-President of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

The Committee has already completed a survey of "Racial Practices and Policies in Presbyterian Churches" and another study of "Negro Leadership Potential in Our Denomination." Under consideration by the Committee are a number of important questions. For example, How can the investments of our boards and agencies reflect the social goals of our church and still conform to sound investment principles? How can leadership opportunities be opened up for qualified Negro Presbyterians on a "color-blind" basis in our churches and institutions?

The General Assembly has laid a heavy burden of responsibility on The Committee of Eighteen and has called for co-operation from the entire church in its work.

## COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

**The 171st General Assembly**
**Expresses its confidence in collective bargaining as the most responsible and democratic way of resolving issues in labor-management relations,**
**Believes that union membership as a basis of continued employment should be neither required by law nor forbidden by law,**

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### Commentary on *COLLECTIVE BARGAINING*

The General Assembly vigorously discussed the resolution on collective bargaining, devoting more time and words to this issue than to any one of the other pronouncements. The debate centered on a clause in the "preamble" of the Standing Committee's original recommendation: "Believing that the restriction of collective bargaining implied by right-to-work laws is detrimental to labor-management co-operation and has no explicit connection with labor abuses . . ." After extensive discussion, a motion to delete the clause was sustained. Later the entire preamble was stricken.

In his comments on the Standing Committee's recommendations, the Secretary of the Department of Social Education and Action had pointed out that the key wording in the collective bargaining statement was the clause, "The 171st General Assembly . . . believes that union membership as a basis for continued employment should be neither required by law nor forbidden by law." The discussion made clear to the General Assembly that approving this wording amounted to taking a position against the so-called right-to-work laws (which forbid any arrangement, agreeable to both management and union, by which union membership becomes "a basis for continued employment").

In spite of its previous action in deleting the "preamble" of the collective bargaining statement, the General Assembly rejected two amendments designed to remove from the recommendation its explicit opposition to the restriction of collective bargaining implicit in right-to-work legislation. The General Assembly urged that "the question of a union shop or other maintenance-of-membership arrangements" should be settled by responsible collective bargaining. This position is in line with General Assembly (U.S.A.) deliverances of 1944, 1946, 1947, and 1954, on union security, the interdependence and solidarity of workers, and the need for collective bargaining unimpaired by excessive legal restrictions.

**Eighteen states presently have** laws that prohibit management and labor from entering into union shop and other maintenance-of-member-

**Urges that the question of a union shop or other maintenance-of-membership arrangements should be settled by collective bargaining which meets the basic requirements for responsible and democratic negotiation,**
**Condemns unequivocally violence and threats of violence in labor disputes,**

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ship agreements, regardless of whether or not the management of a particular plant and a majority of the workers elect to have such agreements. Legislation of this sort is commonly known by the somewhat misleading name of right-to-work laws. It should be noted that none of the major industrial states is included among those which have enacted right-to-work legislation: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and Virginia.

**The Labor Management Act of** 1947 (Taft-Hartley) outlawed the closed shop but permitted employers and unions to sign union shop agreements if the union was the representative of a majority of employees in the bargaining unit. Certain other limitations were placed on such agreements—for instance, the filing of information regarding structure, organization, procedure, both of the local and of the international union; the filing of financial reports that have been distributed to all members; and evidence that the officers both of the local and the international union are not members of the Communist Party.

No union may seek a union shop without fulfilling these requirements. But Taft-Hartley (Section 14b) went even farther. It stated with regard to the union shop contracts, which it cautiously permitted, that "Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing . . . agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any state or territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by state or territorial law."

Thus the way was left open for the states to enact laws prohibiting management-union agreements on a union shop whether or not management and unions are willing to enter into such agreements. Under these laws both parties are compelled to maintain an open shop which puts the claim of the socially irresponsible individual before those of the majority of employees in a given plant.

It is interesting to note that a widely distributed brochure supporting the compulsory open shop (*Twenty Questions About the Right-to-Work Laws*) argues that "compulsion itself is an evil force that bears the seed of its own destruction."

Are the advocates of state right-to-work legislation really against constraint or are they against labor unions? Why are they unwilling to let the matter of a union shop or non-union shop be settled by the process of collective bargaining between management and the legally certified agent of the workers in the bargaining unit? Are the so-called right-to-

**Urges Federal legislation to ensure the honest use of union funds and to guarantee the right of appeal and the right of secret ballot,**
**Calls upon individual Presbyterian union members to take a responsible part in the activities of their unions, and**

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work laws really upholding the right of a man to work or are they designed to weaken union security by denying to organized labor those safeguards against irresponsible individualism, which is able to wreak havoc in a highly industrialized, corporate society? These are valid questions which need to be thoroughly discussed with the rights and responsibilities of both management and labor in mind.

A Fund for the Republic study of the effect of the right-to-work law in Texas, where the law has been in effect for ten years, concluded that it could not be accurately proved that the Texas law either helped or hindered management-union relations. The issue of right-to-work it submitted is largely symbolic. It is another chapter in the struggle between some representatives of American management and the labor unions to obtain a favorable position in labor-management relations.

The General Assembly indicated that it was unwilling to bind by law either side in this struggle which is of the essential nature of a dynamic, democratic industrial society. It evinced its concern over the growing power of certain labor leaders who have used that power for corrupt purposes. But it unequivocally rejected the theory that state right-to-work laws will solve this problem—except by breaking the back of the union, which is certainly no admissible solution. Rather, the General Assembly supported the institution of collective bargaining and called upon individual Presbyterians to participate actively in the labor movement in order to strengthen that institution and to maintain health and a sense of responsibility in the labor unions which must enter into negotiations in their behalf.

**The General Assembly took** essentially the same position that was taken in 1956 by the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of Churches. A portion of the excellent statement that came out of the Division is reprinted here as a commentary upon the collective bargaining pronouncement of the 171st General Assembly.

Union membership as a condition of employment places a limitation on the freedom of the individual and there is reason for Christian concern at this point. The right of individuals to have a maximum freedom of choice in selection of types and conditions of work is basic but not absolute. It must be noted that other freedoms are also involved in connection with this problem. Not only do we evidence Christian concern for those who do not wish to join a union, but also for those who do wish to join and maintain a union. And we are concerned for the freedom of the union or of the employer who may wish to sign a union security contract.

While being concerned for these freedoms, we are also aware of the fact that limitations of such freedoms may be required. Limitations upon the right to many kinds of work are fixed on behalf of safety, skill, efficiency, and health. Wherever a

**Calls upon the Department of Social Education and Action to continue its study of present issues in industrial relations (such as the effects of automation, the reclassification of jobs and the need for retaining workers, the problems of women in industry, the influence of economic power groups, the present role of government in the economy, the new power and problems of organized labor, and the cultural implications of new technology) and to bring appropriate recommendations to the 172d General Assembly.**

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limitation or a restriction of freedom has been set or permitted by law it means that the public has decided that some social value has been selected as having greater merit than the right of a worker to employment on his own terms.

Any evaluation of union membership as a condition of employment should give full consideration to its effect upon industrial relations. In some industries management itself shows its view that the closed or the union shop may be an asset in good employer-employee relations. A few labor unions have shown their belief that neither the closed nor union shop may be necessary or desirable. In still other industries, required union membership is under appraisal by both labor and management as one of many elements to be considered in their relations. Some element of compulsion is present in almost every association of individuals. All men are confronted from time to time with the necessity of yielding to the interests and welfare of others. They are also, at times, under the moral necessity of resisting those compulsions which threaten to destroy them as free and responsible agents of their own minds and consciences.

Thus, although people do not usually like compulsion in any form, they may accept some degree of it in order to achieve values that cannot be secured without it. They recognize that in any social order the exercise of individual freedom may be self-defeating, and that freedom must of necessity in some circumstances be exercised in terms of group decisions.

People should recognize the tendency for compulsion in any form to become evil in its consequences, and remain aware of the fact that only with great difficulty and fine judgment can compulsion be made to serve ideal ends. The question of compulsion is one of the more delicate of moral questions and it has a special bearing on the question of whether membership in a labor union should be made a condition of employment.

In the light of the above considerations and with specific reference to the issues currently raised by state right-to-work laws, it is recognized that either requiring by law or forbidding by law union membership as a basis of continuing employment involves grave moral problems. Under the varied circumstances prevailing at different times and places throughout this large country the National Council of Churches decerns no simple judgment on these moral problems upon which highly diverse opinions are held by dedicated Christians.

However, it is the opinion of the Executive Board of the Division of Christian Life and Work that union membership as a basis of continued employment should be neither required nor forbidden by law; the decision should be left to agreement by management and labor through the process of collective bargaining. The freedom of management and labor to negotiate such agreements without the restraints of right-to-work laws, however, places upon them a clear responsibility to observe the . . . basic principles and safeguards.

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

**Recognizing the responsibility of the state to protect its citizens and to promote justice and freedom in society,**

**Recognizing that one of the means by which the state has sought to exercise this responsibility has been the imposition of the death penalty,**

**Realizing that in Western Europe only France and Great Britain retain the death penalty and that in our country eight states have abolished it,**

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### Commentary on *CAPITAL PUNISHMENT*

Debate about capital punishment has been going on for many years. It has been a hot issue in several states, notably in Delaware and Oregon in 1958 and in California, Indiana, and Ohio in 1959. We predict that in the next few years many states will deal with the question of the abolition of the death sentence.

The General Assembly stand is taken on firm theological ground. In a background paper prepared for the Department of Social Education and Action, Dean Gordon Jackson, of Pittsburgh-Xenia Seminary, says:

The Biblical understanding of justice lies in over-all Biblical categories of justice, love, and redemption. Justice is not a *quid pro quo* concept, but an existential way of dealing with man in his perplexity and dilemma. God's justice is his attempt to reach man and save him. Justice always looks to the consequence of redemption.

Punishment always looks toward the reclaiming of the wrongdoer. It is always instrumental. In this sense it lacks decisiveness, except with regard to the Last Judgment. Punishment must be seen always in process, and never the end of the process. The end, the purpose of the process, is renewal of the sinner, recovery of the wrongdoer, redemption of the evil man.

When capital punishment is seen over against this kind of background, it is hard to understand how it can be approved, for the decisive thing about capital punishment is its termination of life, and the removal of the possibility of redeeming love. Furthermore, the very decisiveness and absolute character of capital punishment presupposes an absolute guilt. But can we speak at all of absolute guilt when we know so much about social involvement and social guilt, and the complexity of the unconscious? Neither of these concepts absolves a man from his own guiltiness, but both insist that man's guiltiness is relative, and that all men share every man's crime.

This knowledge should cause us concern about the philosophy of penology and force us to see all of penology not in the concept of every man according to his due, but to every man according to his need. This would surely mean that some men would need to spend the rest of their natural lives in prison, because freedom is too great a burden for them and their presence is too great a danger to their fellow men. The case of each would have to be seen in the context of his potential for redemption, which in this case is personal renewal, so that he can once again take his place in society. Death is the one penalty that seems not to be allowable, for it actually prevents the redemptive process from its fullness, not allowing man the full use of his years for overcoming this brokenness and achieving wholeness.

**Movements to do away with** capital punishment have grown with

**Knowing that studies have shown that the retention or abolition of the death penalty has no observable effect on homicide rates, that justice sometimes miscarries because of human fallibility in the judicial process, and that enlightened penal practice seeks both to protect society and to reform and rehabilitate guilty persons, and**

**Believing that capital punishment cannot be condoned by an interpretation of the Bible based upon the revelation of God's love in Jesus Christ, that as Christians we must seek the redemption of evildoers and not their death, and that the use of the death penalty tends to brutalize the society that condones it,**

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increased concern for the treatment of prisoners. The earliest of these in the U.S.A. led to the organization in 1776 of the Philadelphia Society for Relieving Distressed Prisoners. Dr. Benjamin Rush, the distinguished Presbyterian doctor, was among its members. In 1787, Dr. Rush read a paper at the home of Benjamin Franklin expressing dissatisfaction of Pennsylvania reformers with existing penal codes, including such provision for "infamous prison clothes, shaved heads, degrading work and conditions, and humiliation and ostracism by the public." Dr. Rush's opposition to capital punishment drew much criticism, to which he replied in rebuttal with arguments that were repeated numerous times in the next hundred years or so.

Since the Sacco-Vanzetti case in 1927 the movement for abolition has continued to press reform measures in penology and has kept the nation and various state legislatures alert to the evils of the death penalty.

**The widely held argument that** capital punishment deters crime, because people fear death above everything else, was analyzed by the Academy of Political and Social Science in the November, 1952, issue of *The Annals*. From statistical data and case histories of prisoners it was observed that the death penalty has had no special deterrent value. There is lack of consistency between homicide and execution rates.

There is also present in criminal cases the chance that an innocent man may be condemned to death. Mistaken identification, perjured testimony, fallibility of defenses, lapses of memory, errors of judgment, undiscovered evidence, public demand for a conviction, inordinate zeal on the part of investigators and prosecutors—all these and many other factors contribute to the miscarriage of justice.

A further reason for opposing capital punishment is that the death penalty is not imposed equitably on all criminals. In almost all cases criminals on Death Row are poor and friendless. Persons of wealth, status, and education can secure able counsel and use legal devices and technicalities for delays and for the mitigation of penalties. It is expensive to obtain adequate counsel and independent investigation.

**It is important to note that** the General Assembly has urged

**The 171st General Assembly**
**Declares its opposition to capital punishment,**
**Calls upon the judicatories and members of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to work for the abolition of the death penalty in their respective states,**

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churches and judicatories to work for the abolition of the death penalty in their respective states, and to seek improvement of our penal institutions and system, to the end that society will be protected and persons convicted of crime be rehabilitated. Presbyteries and synods should become acquainted with existing state organizations for penal reform and for the abolition of capital punishment. Study of crime prevention and correction by presbyteries and local churches should appropriately include the probing of community conditions that impoverish and corrupt human life.

**Another aspect of local study** would be the insistence upon accurate tabulation of statistical data about crime. It is the right of the American people to know the extent to which crime waves actually occur. Agencies of law enforcement and social welfare, which are responsible for dealing with problems of crime, are accountable to the public for their programs and policies. Accurate statistical data are necessary in order to evaluate the effectiveness of existing agencies. The Uniform Crime Reports published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation do not cover all areas within the United States. Most crimes committed are violations of state laws. Each state has developed its own set of statutes. What might be considered a crime in one state may be legal in another. In many state reports there is little distinction between major offenses and misdemeanors.

As early as 1931 the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement known as the Wickersham Commission issued a warning against the misuses of unreliable data and the uncritical acceptance of such data. The Commission observed, "The eagerness with which the unsystematic often inaccurate and more often incomplete statistics available for this country are taken up by text writers, letters in periodicals, newspaper writers, and public speakers speaks for itself."

**Local appraisals of crime prevention** and correction should certainly include the study of neighborhood houses and settlement programs that are church-related, in terms especially of their effectiveness in reaching the people of troubled neighborhoods and in developing indigenous leadership. Investigations of court procedures in handling offenders, particularly in lower courts and in children's courts, need to be undertaken by the church. Psychiatric referral services as well as the probation system in most communities leave much to be desired. It is important for the churches to turn the spotlight of inquiry upon

**Urges the judicatories to seek the improvement of our various penal institutions and systems to the end that society may be protected and persons convicted of crime be rehabilitated, and**

**Encourages the Department of Social Education and Action to continue its study of other aspects of crime prevention and correction.**

## PROBLEMS OF ALCOHOL

**Noting the widespread use of alcoholic beverages in our country and the deeply rooted cultural sanctions that support such use in nearly all segments of our population,**

**Noting also the variety, complexity, and intensity of the problems related to such drinking, which in their interaction with other social and moral problems compel the attention and concern of the churches, and**

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themselves with special reference to the apathy in local congregations, the disdain of politics, and the indifference of Christian people which has led to the corruption of the body politic.

### Commentary on *PROBLEMS OF ALCOHOL*

In this pronouncement, the General Assembly begins by recognizing the difficulty and complexity of the problems related to the use of alcoholic beverages.

Recent studies of drinking patterns in a number of segments of the American population (college students, Jews, persons with Italian backgrounds) show that drinking as a behavior is intricately related to other patterns of behavior. Dr. Selden Bacon, Director of the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies, says: "Seeing drinking as a custom (in the sociological sense) affords a more realistic and broader view, more effective discrimination and insight, and the possibility of developing safer and surer techniques of control." The importance of understanding the involvement of drinking with other "customs" in various segments of our population cannot be overemphasized for those truly interested in alleviating and preventing the problems of alcohol.

In its recommendations to the churches on the subject of alcohol, the General Assembly says nothing new but simply calls attention to former pronouncements of both the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The General Assembly directs the Department of Social Education and Action to continue its study of the problems of alcohol. This study will be carried forward by the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action with the help of a strong advisory committee. The department's work in this field will receive major attention in 1959–1960. Social education and action committees of

**Believing that there are no easy or immediate solutions for the problems of alcohol, but that, through a deeper understanding of human behavior and of the forces that mold our culture, ways can be found of dealing with them,**

**The 171st General Assembly**

**Calls the attention of each local congregation to the former pronouncements of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and the United Presbyterian Church of North America (U.S.A., 1946, 1953; U.P., 1957), which call for (1) a realistic program of education in the churches, emphasizing voluntary abstinence as a significant way of dealing with the problems of alcohol, (2) concern on the part of ministers and churches for alcoholics and other victims of the misuse of alcohol, (3) education of the public regarding alcoholism and other problems of alcohol, and (4) co-operation with agencies whose goals with respect to alcohol are in harmony with those of our church,**

**Commends the sincere endeavors of Alcoholics Anonymous,**

**Directs the Department of Social Education and Action to undertake a study of the use of alcoholic beverages in the American culture, re-examining the issues involved and their proposed solutions, and to bring to the 172d General Assembly recommendations as to ways the churches and their members can act responsibly with respect to the problems of alcohol; and that the department be charged with the study of the use of advertising, seeking to find ways without jeopardizing our basic freedoms, to curb this means of molding the minds of the nation, and**

**Encourages the social education and action committee of each presbytery to assist local pastors and congregations in dealing with these problems, and to co-operate with the Department of Social Education and Action in its study of the use of alcoholic beverages.**

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the presbyteries will be involved, as the General Assembly suggests.

At present there tends to be some disagreement in the church with regard to the use of alcoholic beverages. Many seem to take the moralistic view that drinking per se is wrong and should be universally condemned. Others hold to the milder position that while voluntary abstinence is the "ideal" Christian behavior with regard to alcohol, the decision is one a person should make for himself without judging those who do not choose to abstain. Still others believe that moderate drinking is permissible on Christian grounds. It should be said that advocates of all three views are agreed in condemning drunkenness and in expressing concern for alcoholics and other victims of the drinking habit.

In the General Assembly debate on the alcohol pronouncement there were two interesting developments. First, the General Assembly rejected a proposal that it "reaffirm" former deliverances rather than call them to the attention of the churches. Second, a motion to change the phrase "victims of the misuse of alcohol" (which seems to imply a "proper use" of alcohol) to "victims of the beverage use of alcohol" was defeated.

## PLANNED PARENTHOOD

**Recognizing that in the wisdom of God Christian marriage is a relationship of love and fidelity which involves both companionship and parenthood, and**
**Believing that the sexual life within this relationship is given by God for the benefit of his children, and is neither an ethically neutral aspect of human existence, nor an evil which needs to be justified by something else, as for example, by the procreation of children,**
**The 171st General Assembly**
**Approves the principle of voluntary family planning and responsible parenthood,**
**Affirms that the proper use of medically approved contraceptives may contribute to the spiritual, emotional, and economic welfare of the family,**

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### Commentary on *PLANNED PARENTHOOD*

The pronouncement on voluntary family planning is long overdue. Guidance from the church in the matter of responsible parenthood has been needed by the church.

The Presbyterian Church has officially taken a stand on the issue of planned parenthood only three times. In 1869 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. expressed a stern denouncement of abortion and infanticide. The *Minutes* of the General Assembly that year said, in part: "All who seek to avoid the responsibilities and cares connected with the bringing up of children not only deprive themselves of one of the greatest blessings of life, and fly in the face of God's decrees, but do violence to their own natures, and will be found out of their sins even in this world."

Not until 1930, when modern techniques of birth control had been developed by medical science did the General Assembly speak again on the subject. That year the General Assembly adopted a report of the Commission on Marriage, Divorce and Remarriage condemning "the widespread use of contraceptives for the total prevention of . . . children. Granting physical and mental competency, to frustrate the coming of children to the Christian home is to frustrate a certain normal development that the Christian monogamic marriage assumes." The following year, 1931, the General Assembly reaffirmed its stand by disapproving of the plan to make further comments on the subject of planned parenthood. The inference in the position that was taken these two years is that contraceptives themselves are condoned. It is their misuse in the *total* prevention of children that was disapproved by the Assembly.

In 1959 the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church recognized the need for a new look at this subject of planned parenthood. The mounting birth rate and the present population explosion have given

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RESEARCH
EXPERT
REPORT
REPORT
REPORT
STATISTICS
WORK
COMMITTEES
ASSIGNMENTS
AND
REPORTS
EXAMINER
LABOR
DISPUTE
CITY NEWS
VICE SCANDAL
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OUT AT
TIMES
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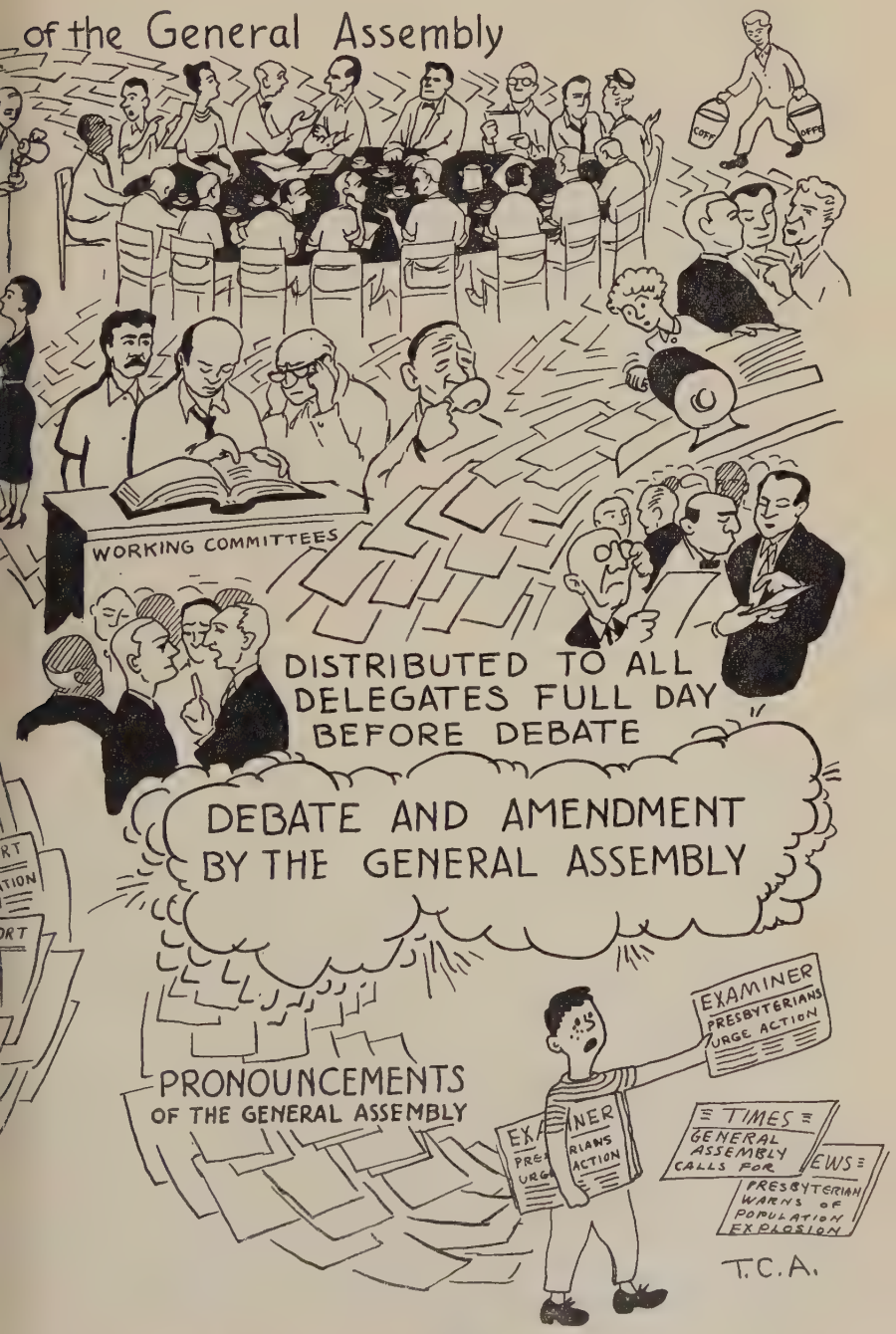
# Social Education and Action Committee of the General Assembly



(Continued from page 23)

**Urges the repeal of laws prohibiting the availability of contraceptives and information about them for use within the marriage relationship, and**

**Authorizes the establishment of a special commission of seven members, appointed by the Moderator, to make a thorough study of this whole matter in co-operation with the Department of Social Education and Action and the Office of Family Education Research of the Board of Christian Education, and to present a report to the 172d General Assembly.**

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this pronouncement a special significance and urgency.

The 1959 statement will be supplemented in subsequent years by other pronouncements dealing with a variety of related problems: population control, sterilization, abortion, artificial insemination, and medically approved efforts to increase fertility as well as to limit the procreation of children. The development of new contraceptives as well as modern means of increasing fertility are aspects of technological change which must be studied and understood by responsible Christians. What is at stake in all these deliberations and studies is the fact that families today are caught in the vortex of social change, and the churches cannot remain silent when basic human institutions are threatened.

Although there is no direct analysis of the problem of family planning in the Scriptures nor any direct prohibition or requirement bearing on the question, Prof. Paul Lehmann has pointed out that there are certain Biblical insights that have continued to mold Christian thought about the family and the problems of childbearing. Passages from the book of Genesis, the teachings of Jesus on the subject of marriage, and the views of Paul on the relations between husbands and wives and parents and children have been interpreted traditionally to affirm that marriage and offspring are blessings of God and indeed duties of man in the service of God. In Roman Catholic and Protestant thought procreation has been regarded as the principal justification of marriage.

It was clear to the General Assembly that marriage involved more than the procreation of children, and that marriage relationships constitute reciprocal blessings and responsibilities for husband and wife and provide the basis for expressing love and consideration for each other.

It is interesting to note that the pronouncements of the United Presbyterian Church come at a time in history when many other religious bodies have taken similar stands. In the past year, beginning with the statement on family planning in the Lambeth Conference last summer, the wide silence on the subject of planned parenthood has been lifted. Studies of responsible parenthood are going forward in several denominations, and in the National and World Councils of Churches. There is even some evidence that the monolithic Roman Catholic stand on birth control may be reinterpreted.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### Cleveland Conference

**Noting that the National Council of Churches for many years has, through its various departments, held study conferences on issues of public policy,**

**Noting further that these conferences consist of delegates from constituent denominations and agencies of the National Council of Churches, and that the delegates and conferences speak only for themselves through statements designed to stimulate further study and free discussion in member denominations and churches,**

**Observing that, among the recommendations coming from the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland, one concerning the diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China by the United States and its admission to the United Nations has provoked not only responsible discussion but also irresponsible censure, and**

**Acknowledging the validity of arguments on both sides of the Red China question, considering that immediate recognition of that Government may not be feasible, and yet looking toward the day when diplomatic relations with the mainland Government may be both feasible and desirable,**

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### Commentary on *INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*

#### *Cleveland Conference*

The Fifth World Order Study Conference, held in Cleveland last November, was widely reported and discussed, especially in connection with its comments on our Government's policy toward the People's Republic of China.

The Conference was convened by the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches. The 515 delegates represented more than thirty communions. Two thirds of the delegates were from the laity and one fifth were women. The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. was represented by thirty-five delegates selected by the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations.

The Conference theme, "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet," was discussed in several plenary sessions addressed by leaders of government and religion, and in four sections dealing with (1) the power struggle and security, (2) overseas areas of rapid change, (3) human rights, and (4) international institutions and peaceful change. In the months before the Conference six preparatory commissions had developed useful background papers.

The reports of the four sections were "commended to the churches for study and appropriate action." A Message to the Churches, prepared

**The 171st General Assembly**
**Commends the National Council of Churches for holding its Fifth World Order Conference and dealing courageously and honestly with vital issues which were controversial,**

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by a committee of thirty-two delegates, was discussed, amended, and finally adopted in the closing plenary session.

It was thoroughly understood by everyone concerned that in the Message the Conference did not speak for the National Council of Churches or for the churches and councils sending delegates. The Conference spoke only for itself.

The Cleveland Conference's four-thousand word Message touched on many aspects of Christian responsibility in international relations. On the controversial question of Red China, the Message said:

> With reference to China, Christians should urge reconsideration by our Government of its policy in regard to the People's Republic of China. While the rights of the people of Taiwan and of Korea should be safeguarded, steps should be taken toward the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for its recognition by our Government. Such recognition does not imply approval. These diplomatic relations should constitute a part of a much wider relationship between our peoples. The exclusion of the effective Government on the mainland of China, currently the People's Republic of China, from the international community is in many ways a disadvantage to that community. It helps to preserve a false image of the United States and of other nations in the minds of the Chinese people. It keeps our people in ignorance of what is taking place in China. It hampers negotiations for disarmament. It limits the functioning of international organizations. We have a strong hope that the resumption of relationships between the peoples of China and of the United States may make possible also a restoration of relationships between their churches and ours.

The China statement elicited both criticism and commendation. Much of the expressed disagreement was sound and sincere. Some of the criticism, however, was uninformed and irresponsible. A few long-time detractors of the National Council of Churches were not above interpreting and using the Cleveland Conference Message in such a way as to undermine the Council's work and support.

The General Board of the National Council, meeting in Hartford in February, supported Cleveland's right to deal with the controversial China question and appealed to the churches to resist all efforts to discourage and limit free discussion:

> Reiterating our loyalty to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and our opposition to atheistic communism, we declare that the basic challenge to the Council and to the churches does not arise solely from specific viewpoints or conclusions expressed by them.
>
> The issue is the right of the citizen of whatever race or creed, and of any peaceable organizations he chooses to form or join, to discuss freely and to express judgments, without exposure to attacks upon motive or integrity for daring to exercise the right to do so. Such a right is especially vital to the church, which owes a duty to lead and to inform, so that its members may be aided in reaching morally valid judgments in the light of their common faith. . . .

**Urges United Presbyterian churches to resist and reject unconsidered reactions to the Red China recommendation of the Cleveland Conference, and Calls upon the church to engage in responsible study of the reports of the Cleveland Conference in connection with the interdenominational co-ordinated emphasis on international affairs in the program year 1959-1960.**

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The National Council of Churches reminds the churches that its pronouncements, policy statements, and findings of Study Conferences are designed to help our members in the free process of finding the truth and acting upon it. . . .

The General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. addresses this *appeal* to all of its constituent churches, related councils, and organizations:

1. *Uphold* the right and duty of the churches and their councils to study and comment upon issues of human concern, however controversial.

2. *Encourage* from within and without the churches and their councils full and open criticism of the positions taken by them.

3. *Resist* all efforts to discourage full freedom of discussion and, in discussion, *reject* attempts to suppress such freedom.

4. *Invite* full candor on the part of Government officials and other leaders of opinion in the public exposition of problems and dilemmas affecting our nation and its citizens.

Your response to this *appeal* is invited and will be welcomed by the National Council of Churches.

**The 171st General Assembly** of the United Presbyterian Church was overtured by two presbyteries to disapprove or to dissociate itself from the recommendation of the Cleveland Conference relating to China. In reply, the General Assembly approved a thoughtful resolution proposed by the Committee on Bills and Overtures:

We support the essential freedom of all church study groups, both locally and on a wider scale, to present their conclusions on international issues, and further support the essential freedom of all such church groups to debate or discuss important international issues.

We assert the responsibility of Christians, individually and corporately, to be accurate when dealing with statements of study groups. We further assert the responsibility of Christians, individually and corporately, to challenge the publicizing of inaccurate interpretation of such statements.

We would encourage all congregations to respond to the request of the National Council of Churches that various member bodies study the recommendations of its World Order Study Conference, made in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 18-21, 1958, urging among other things, "reconsideration by our Government of its policy in regard to the People's Republic of China." We would also express our Christian concern that the day may soon come when our Government, in concert with other free nations, may enter with honor into normal relations with the Government of the Chinese people.

In preparation for the day when relations may be restored we will pray increasingly for the people of China and the United States, and we will prepare, through study and discussion, to develop mutual understanding with this important section of the world.

**The General Assembly called** attention to the "interdenominational co-ordinated emphasis on international affairs in the program year 1959–1960." The Cleveland Conference papers are invaluable

### Communism

**The 171st General Assembly**
**Deplores all ruthless disregard of human rights by atheistic communism or other Governments anywhere in the world, and assures oppressed and enslaved peoples of our Christian hopes, efforts, and fervent prayers for them.**

### United Nations Children's Fund

**Recognizing the constructive efforts of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), in relieving the suffering of children in areas of need around the world, and in protecting them from the ravages of disease and hunger,**

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"resources" for the study. The Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches has published the Message and the Reports in an attractive 64-page pamphlet (entitled *Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet*, available from Department of Publication and Distribution, 120 East 23d Street, New York 10, N.Y., 35 cents). A study guide has also been prepared and may be secured for 25 cents from the above address.

Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will recall that the March issue (entitled "This Changing Planet," available from any Presbyterian Distribution Service for 25 cents) features a study-discussion-action guide based on the Cleveland Reports.

### *Communism*

This pronouncement was introduced from the floor during the General Assembly debate on the recommendations of the Standing Committee.

The original wording referred to the "ruthless violation of human rights by atheistic communism." In the ensuing discussion the suggestion was made that others than communists, even Christians, may at times act in denial of the fundamental rights of men. So the wording was amended to include "or other Governments."

We need to be aware of and deeply concerned about the massive and flagrant oppressions of people in such countries as Hungary and Tibet, and, in other forms and degrees and for other reasons, or such places as the Union of South Africa and Spain.

### *UNICEF*

During the past year the United Nations Children's Fund has been under attack because, as one of its detractors has put it, "a very substantial part of the total fund goes to communist and communist-controlled countries."

The truth is that UNICEF aid is sent to 105 countries and territories, only two of which have communist Governments: Poland and Yugoslavia. These two countries are also recipients of U.S. bilateral aid. During 1958, UNICEF allocated only one per cent of its resources to Poland and none to Yugoslavia.

**Recognizing also its work in establishing basic maternal and child welfare services and in training indigenous leadership to carry on these services, and**

**Noting that the United States Government as well as private agencies in local communities have contributed substantially to UNICEF,**

**The 171st General Assembly**

**Alerts the churches and their members to attempts both to discredit UNICEF and to discourage community participation in annual Halloween "trick-or-treat" collections of UNICEF, and**

**Commends church and community groups for their support of UNICEF and interpretation of its world-wide service.**

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During the past eight years UNICEF has given less than three per cent of its funds to communist countries.

In 1959 UNICEF will contribute over $20 million to programs serving the world. The Governments of the areas assisted will contribute materials and services in the amount of more than $60 million. UNICEF depends entirely upon voluntary gifts, principally from Governments, for its funds.

An important source of income for the Children's Fund is the Halloween "trick-or-treat for UNICEF" program. By this means in 1958 more than $1 million was raised. This application of "trick-or-treat" was first proposed ten years ago by Clyde Allison, then editor of *Junior-Hi Kit*. The "idea" was passed on to the United States Committee for UNICEF which has been promoting it as both an educational and money-raising program with increasing effectiveness for several years.

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**The General Assembly approved** the following important resolution on World Refugee Year presented by the Committee on Resettlement Services:

Noting that the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 5, 1958, approved a resolution, urging member states to observe World Refugee Year, beginning in July, 1959; that the Government of the United States has joined in sponsoring World Refugee Year; and that The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has undertaken, through its Committee on Resettlement Services and through its support of Church World Service, to assist refugees in meeting their needs and in establishing new homes in this country and elsewhere,

The 171st General Assembly

Endorses the purposes of World Refugee Year,

Believes that the refugee problem is a continuing one and that real solution must be based on political and social justice, international co-operation, and the recognition of fundamental human rights,

Recognizes the magnitude, urgency, and complexity of the refugee problem at the present time, and the need for prompt action on the part of both governmental and private agencies in meeting some of the worst emergencies affecting refugees,

Calls upon our churches to renew their concern for refugees, and to co-operate with the Committee on Resettlement Services, and with Church World Service in finding homes for refugee families in this country, in seeking the admission to this country of additional numbers of refugees, and in ministering to the needs of refugees everywhere.

# How a Pronouncement Is Born

SIXTY-TWO persons were directly involved in the process by which the social pronouncements were formulated prior to their presentation to the General Assembly.

They were members of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action (34 persons), General Assembly's Standing Committee on Social Education and Action (23 persons), and the executive staff of the Department of Social Education and Action. Approximately half of the Committee were ministers and half, lay men and women.

When the attendance at the various meetings of the Counseling Committee and the Standing Committee is taken into account it is estimated that more than 1,000 man (and woman) hours were devoted to the writing of the recommendations and proposals which became the 1959 General Assembly pronouncements.

The process by which the pronouncements were prepared is almost as important as the statements themselves. Although it is far from perfect, it is an effective demonstration of responsible democracy.

### The Counseling Committee

Consider, first of all, the role of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.

This important organ is constituted by the Board of Christian Education as directed by the General Assembly. It is composed as follows: twenty-five members, of whom six shall be appointed from its own membership, one of whom shall be designated as chairman by the Board of Christian Education; two from the membership of the Board of National Missions upon nomination by that Board; two from the membership of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations upon nomination by the Commission; and fifteen from the church at large, including at least nine lay men and women, nominated by the Committee on Nominations of the General Assembly. The members from the church at large shall be elected to terms of three years (except in 1959 when five shall be elected for one year, five for two years, and five for three years) and shall be eligible to serve not more than two consecutive terms.

These people come from a great variety of backgrounds and occupations. There is hardly a more widely representative agency in our church. Yet it is more than remarkable that the Committee acts with such unity of consensus as it does. Issues are always vigorously debated, and conflicting views are strongly and ably supported, but when the recommendations are finally adopted, they are often given unanimous endorsement.

The Counseling Committee begins its work on the pronouncements in

the fall. In mid-November a full meeting of the Committee is held in Philadelphia. At this meeting there is extended discussion of the social issues and areas of concern with which the proposed pronouncements (to be submitted to the General Assembly six months or so later) may usefully deal. Consideration is given to communications from presbyteries, churches, and individuals.

The Committee reviews in this discussion a résumé of issues with which the General Assembly has dealt in its social pronouncements in recent years. Appropriate subcommittees are set up to do intensive work in the selected areas of concern, such as international affairs, racial and cultural relations, economic life, community relations, and civil liberties.

The subcommittees carry forward their assignments during December and January. Much of the work is done by correspondence among the three, four, or five members of each group. Usually each subcommittee is able to meet at least once in this period. Often the group invites an outside "expert" as a consultant.

The Counseling Committee meets as a whole again in late January or early February and prepares working papers. On the basis of these papers the Committee formulates its recommendations.

The Counseling Committee meets again in a two-day session in Philadelphia, in mid-April. The recommendations are carefully reviewed, changes and additions are made as current events may seem to dictate, and the finished paper is finally approved for reference to the General Assembly.

The work of the Counseling Committee on the pronouncements is concluded when the chairman presents the recommendations to the Board of Christian Education. The Board receives the paper and transmits it to the General Assembly (i.e., the Stated Clerk). The Board's approval is unnecessary, and the Board has no authority to change or enhance the proposals of the Counseling Committee. It may, however, and sometimes does, transmit to the General Assembly an accompanying statement supporting the recommendations or suggesting alternative positions.

The recommendations of the Counseling Committee are usually mailed to all commissioners prior to the opening of the General Assembly.

### The Standing Committee

The General Assembly of The United Presbyetrian Church in the U.S.A. is composed of about 960 commissioners. Half are laymen; half, ministers. They come from the 224 presbyteries of the church. These presbyteries are assigned to twenty-two "electing sections" for the purpose of organizing the General Assembly.

The "electing sections" caucus on the first day of the seven-day conclave and select representatives to each of fourteen different standing committees. The formula is unique. Each section chooses a minister and an elder for each of the four larger standing committees. For the ten smaller committees, even-numbered sections elect a minister to the even-numbered committees and an elder

to the odd-numbered committees. And vice versa for the odd-numbered sections. In odd-numbered years the order is reversed. If you are slightly confused by this statement of the formula, do not worry. The point is that the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action is composed of eleven ministers and eleven elders from the twenty-two voting sections, and a chairman named by the newly elected Moderator. There is no way of "stacking" the Committee.

This is usually the hardest working Committee in the entire General Assembly. The Committee meets for the first time on Thursday afternoon (the General Assembly having convened on Wednesday). Its report must be completed before Monday morning. The Committee's assignment is such that at least forty hours of intensive work are required. This means long sessions and late hours.

The task of the Standing Committee is to prepare a report, in the form of a set of social pronouncements, which is presented to the General Assembly for approval. The rules of the General Assembly make it clear that this Committee is to base its report on the recommendations from the Counseling Committee, overtures, and other papers referred to it by the General Assembly. This means that the Standing Committee is not free, by its own decision, to deal with issues which are not treated in the Counseling Committee's recommendations. If it desires to do so, the Standing Committee may ask the General Assembly for permission to delve into other areas of concern.

The Standing Committee has wide freedom to do its own thinking and writing as it prepares its report. The work of the Counseling Committee, however, is given most serious study and consideration. Very rarely are its recommendations disregarded or reversed by the Standing Committee, although they are frequently revised. At the same time, it should be said that the Standing Committee does its work so thoroughly that its final report is entirely its own.

A member of the Counseling Committee is usually present in the meetings of the Standing Committee as a consultant to interpret and explain the Committee's recommendations.

### The General Assembly Debates

The Standing Committee's finished report is given to the Stated Clerk who arranges for it to be printed (on Monday morning). The printed copies of the report are distributed to the commissioners on the following day, at least twelve hours before the General Assembly takes action on the pronouncements. The report is formally "presented" to the General Assembly in a brief order of the day at the close of the day preceding the "big debate."

The docket of the General Assembly provides an hour and a half for the Standing Committee's report. This time is usually extended to two hours or more. In this period there is general discussion and debate on the various proposals. This is usually one of the most exciting sessions of the entire week. Discussion is full and free, and always vigorous. Amendments are offered, debated, sometimes approved and sometimes voted down. In the 1959 General Assembly, for example, several "weak-

ening" amendments were approved. The final vote on the pronouncements (in 1959) reflected nearly unanimous endorsement by the 960 commissioners.

### The Role of the Staff

The Department of Social Education and Action has an important role in the formulation of the pronouncements. Members of the executive staff work with both the Counseling Committee and the Standing Committee as resource persons and consultants.

In the fall, the staff of the department provides for the Counseling Committee résumé of former pronouncements and other useful data on social issues and areas of concern, and its own interpretation of the social needs to which the church ought to speak. The staff also transmits to the Counseling Committee all communications from judicatories, churches, and persons. An attempt is made also to get reports and recommendations from members of the Standing Committee of the preceding General Assembly.

During the winter months, the members of the staff work with the various subcommittees of the Counseling Committee. The department is often able to undertake useful research related to the work of these various groups. The department has developed "working relations" with outstanding specialists in all of the areas of social concern.

Members of the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action are fully at the command of the Standing Committee during General Assembly. They bring with them to the meetings of the Standing Committee resource files and background materials related to all of the issues dealt with in the report of the Counseling Committee.

It should be underscored, however, that the pronouncements are not "written" by the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action. Members of the staff are used by the committees and take part in the committee discussions only as resource persons. The Counseling Committee and the Standing Committee bear full responsibility for the reports they prepare.

### Context of Prayer

Members of the Counseling Committee and of the Standing Committee, as well as members of the staff working with these committees, are always mindful of the serious importance of their work. They realize that the statements they are formulating are to become the voice of the church on the sensitive and controversial issues of the day. They seek constantly to discover "the mind of Christ" in relation to these issues.

This is important. The process is designed so as to facilitate study, deep thinking, and discussions by which the issues are truly analyzed in the light of God's desire for men and for the world.

The committees are bound to pay some attention to the "by and large" thinking of Presbyterian Church members on the issues before them, in so far as it can be known or estimated. The consensus of Presbyterians, however, is not the determining factor in formulating the pronouncements. If the purpose of

the pronouncements were simply to express "the mind of Presbyterians" on the controversies of the day, it would be appropriate to have Mr. Gallup or Mr. Roper conduct a poll. In developing their recommendations, the Counseling Committee and the Standing Committee desire not to express "the mind of Presbyterians" but to approximate "the mind of Christ."

The reality of this is dramatically illustrated by an incident in one of the meetings of the Standing Committee of the 1952 General Assembly in New York. The members had worked for many hours—morning, afternoon, into the night. At one o'clock (in the morning) a recess was indicated. The chairman called upon the commissioner from Cincinnati, Dr. B. B. Evans, to lead the group in prayer. He did so, with power and eloquence. When Dr. Evans concluded, an elder-commissioner from Mississippi suggested that the words of the prayer be incorporated in the pronouncements, and so they were—"May the churches see these issues as our Lord feels them and act with courage to achieve his purpose."

### How Binding Are They?

No one has ever been suspended or excommunicated from the Presbyterian Church for his failure to accept or abide by the social pronouncements of the General Assembly. The Committee of Seven, which was appointed by the 161st General Assembly to study the work of the then Division of Social Education and Action, defined the nature of the pronouncements of the General Assembly: "The pronouncements, while mandatory for the Division of Social Education and Action, are not binding on the lower judicatories. At the most, they are suggestive, advisory, and ministerial." The implication is that if the pronouncements are not binding on the lower judicatories, they can hardly be binding upon individual Presbyterians. This observation prompts the query, "What then is the use of having pronouncements?"

### The Problem of "Authority"

For any understanding of the value and function of the social pronouncements we have to consider briefly the whole question of authority as such in the Protestant tradition and, more particularly, in the Presbyterian tradition. Presbyterians, generally speaking, recognize at least four types of authority.

There is, first, that enforceable and punitive authority which resides in the judicatories of the church.

The scope of this authority in the Presbyterian Church is specifically limited to gross, obvious, and provable breaches of Scriptural and ecclesiastical laws as clearly defined in our Constitution. This authority may be enforced upon any member of the Presbyterian Church who can be proved to have violated these laws. Such a violation subjects the person to various degrees of censure ranging up to excommunication. Obviously the social pronouncements do not fall within the scope of this kind of authority.

There is, secondly, that authority which resides in a group by virtue of its prestige and influence in the

eyes of the larger group of which it is a part. This authority is obviously not enforceable by any external judicatory. It is, however, forceful and persuasive in so far as the judgment of this body falls within the generally accepted limits of reasonableness and competence that may be ascribed to the group. For example, if my neighbor tells me that it is his belief that cancerous growths are curable in early stages, I may dispute his opinion without jeopardizing my own self-respect. If my physician voices a similar opinion, I attach greater authority and persuasiveness to his opinion than I would ordinarily attach to that of my neighbor. To carry it still farther, however, if a large and respected body of physicians should agree that the successful treatment of cancer depends upon early diagnosis and quick treatment and this finding should be widely confirmed by other competent medical bodies, that judgment would carry still greater authority.

It seems obvious that the social pronouncements of the General Assembly possess a good measure of this second type of authority, finding, as they do, similar expression in the correlative bodies of nearly all major denominations.

There is, in the third place, that self-validating authority by which any statement of truth, if it be truth, testifies persuasively to the unprejudiced conscience and the intellect of the man of common sense and good will. This is, of course, one type of authority that has always been believed to reside in Scripture, i.e., the coherence and general consistency, the thread of continuity and integrity, which runs throughout the Scriptural record. Such authority and persuasiveness are, of course, recognizable only to the person who approaches the body of truth without previous bias, or, if he has previous bias, with the recognition that it exists in himself. It would seem that the pronouncements, in so far as they be true, would possess this kind of authority.

Finally, there is the only ultimate authority, which the Protestant and the Presbyterian recognize as the rightful ruler of the conscience of the believer: that is, of course, the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit. It must be said, however, that the testimony of the Holy Spirit comes more characteristically to the Christian in community, i.e., in give-and-take, than to the Christian in solitary isolation. Again, if the pronouncements be true, and if the Christian be willing to submit himself to the testimony of the Holy Spirit regardless of how it may go against his mental and emotional set, they may certainly be said to possess this authority.

### Self-validating

The authority of the pronouncements, then, will be seen to reside in the prestige and influence of the body that issues them, in the extent to which they appear to be self-validating and persuasive to the unfettered intellect and conscience of the rational man of good will, and, to the extent that they are true, in the power of the Holy Spirit to make his testimony clear to the conscience of the believer in community with his brothers in Christ.

It has long been an accepted doctrine in the Protestant tradition that

God alone is Lord of the conscience and that ecclesiastical councils have erred and do err. Therefore, it becomes incumbent upon any Presbyterian to recognize the possibility that some General Assembly pronouncements may be ill-advised or even erroneous. For this reason, our church wisely does not make them binding upon the conscience or the overt actions of any Presbyterian.

However, it should always be remembered that they are the results of the best thinking, study, and prayerful consideration of the democratically elected representatives of the church. They manifest a remarkable consistency of position and development through the years. The General Assembly does not speak its mind one way and then a year or two later reverse itself. Rather, the mind of the General Assembly, if it changes its social position, usually seems to grow and develop in the direction to which the pronouncements earlier seemed to point.

### The Burden of Proof

The individual Presbyterian who is concerned about serving his Lord should therefore give much careful and prayerful thought before he repudiates the judgment of the General Assembly. He has the right, with Luther, to repudiate the counsels of the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian Church on social matters and say: "Here I stand, God help me, I can do no other." But he should also seriously consider the real possibility that the judgments expressed so consistently and forcefully through the years by the different General Assemblies may be right.

If the General Assembly pronouncements are not binding upon the individual, if they are not enforceable and are merely "suggestive, advisory, and ministerial," then what is their value and their function? They have at least a fourfold value and function. In the first place, they sensitize and, we would hope, enlighten the minds of the church. They encourage study and awareness of issues where otherwise there might be complacency and ignorance. In the second place, they guide thought and sometimes even modify attitudes. In the third place, they provide a lever, which the church can apply to public opinion and government and by which the church can make its witness in the secular world. And, in the fourth place, they support ministers and laymen who are taking action upstream against the popular and prevailing climate of opinion in their communities. That is, it is extremely valuable to local church leaders, when in good conscience they must take a position or pursue a course of action that is unpopular, to be able to point to the stand that the General Assembly of their church has already stated in support of their own position.

The pronouncements are now an established and well-recognized procedure in the highest judicatory of our church. Their usefulness and value have been firmly established. That their authority will be increased is to be hoped. They are not meant to be an expression of the mass mind or the majority vote of Presbyterians. They are meant to be an effort to arrive at "the mind of Christ." The burden of proof rests upon the one who challenges them.

# Echoes

**Dear Sir:**

The February issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS arrived and I say well done. This is really the "golden age" for SOCIAL PROGRESS. Everything about it shows originality and good management. The only suggestion I might have would be a section on overseas news in the SEA field. Your issues on rapid social change have been well done, but they might be carried on in a monthly section.

*—Dick Poething*
*United Church of Christ in the Philippines*

**Dear Sir:**

The April issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS was an excellent help in preparing for the May 31 celebration of the Jubilee. You may be interested to know that much of this material was used in the sermon. Taking the artistic conception of *man's daily needs* on the back cover, I organized the teachings of the Reformers around these symbols. The *alpha and omega* points to man's need of the Word and is centered in the sovereign God. The *scales of justice* concern the thrust of God's Word into human relations. The *need for bread* reminds us of everyman's right to labor and hold property, which issued in revolt against tyranny. The *olive branch of peace* symbolizes Geneva, the haven of peace for the refugees from all Europe. Also, it calls us to "that brotherhood of man wherein the Kingdom of God is to be made manifest" (from the Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith, found in our *Hymnal*). The *cross* at the center is the means and method whereby we are to bring about the continuing Reformation. The service was concluded with a prayer during which were read the names of the churches in the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian Order as found in the booklet sent to each pastor *By the Grace of God.*

*—Paul M. Conley*
*Seville, Ohio*

(EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following letter, although, strictly speaking, not evoked by* SOCIAL PROGRESS, *was sufficiently provocative to merit being shared with* SOCIAL PROGRESS *readers. We wonder if other synod SEA chairmen have similar experiences.*)

**Dear Staff:**

My communications with presbytery chairmen are miserable—and on this point I am going to have the Synod Christian Education Field Director press for more co-operation, and not just by putting a squib in the regular monthly synod publication.

I have a new presbytery committee that meets here tomorrow evening,

but only two have said they will be present. I expect two others. As for synod's committee, what a mess! The synodical secretary leaves something to be desired, having had neither orientation nor training for her responsibility. _____ Presbytery's chairman denies any knowledge of ever having been elected to the position. _____ Presbytery's chairman has moved away, and a letter to the stated clerk has not been answered. _____ Presbytery's chairman has been changed twice within the last two years, and unlike in the other presbyteries, SEA is now a subcommittee of the Christian Education Committee. Neither the chairman of _____ Presbytery nor of _____ Presbytery has had the courtesy to respond to any mail, let alone show up at a meeting or respond to a long-distance phone call. Only one presbytery chairman has responded, politely, and has attended meetings.

So . . . pressure from *someplace* is needed. Perhaps you need a synod SEA chairman who is located in the same city as synod headquarters. My policy with committees is the same as with evangelistic efforts on behalf of the local church—if people don't wish to come when asked, they know where they can go. Those present will do what must be done. This is a one-pastor church with no secretary, and I have neither the time nor the inclination to mimeograph myself to death. Nor will I be made into a Carry Nation for the entertainment of presbytery.

This, it appears, is the way it is, and I for myself am not discouraged. The response of laymen and laywomen at Synod Leadership Training Schools and at local church meetings has always been excellent. You can guess where the bottleneck is, and I venture these possibilities:

A competitive ministry

A comfortable charge

Success measured by numbers and income.

But you know all this better than I. The programs and promotions look good on paper, but they come to a grinding halt at the compromised pulpit.

*—Name withheld by editors*

**Dear Sir:**

I am enclosing a copy of the dedication bulletin for our new stained-glass windows, recently installed in the United Churches. You would be interested in the "Pentecost Window," the central panel. The design for it I took from the back cover of the March, 1959, SOCIAL PROGRESS, "man's daily needs."

SOCIAL PROGRESS was also quite helpful to me in supplying background information for my work in the past two years as the only male in the nation serving as State Legislation Chairman for the Washington Congress of Parents and Teachers. . . . It has been an exciting year! In addition to strictly educational matters we also were instrumental in writing and obtaining the passage of two obscene literature control bills, as well as several relating to juveniles. . . .

SOCIAL PROGRESS is a fine magazine. I hope one day the General Assembly will do a follow-up on the study of the church and public schools (education).

*—Edgar Pearson*
*Olympia, Washington*

**Dear Sir:**

I think the April issue is excellent, yet the relationship of Calvin to modern society is, perhaps, more complex than it suggests. For instance, it excuses both Luther's and Calvin's state absolutism because of their justified fears of the "wild excesses and fierce cruelties of a peasant rebellion."

I also think that the complicated relationship between seventeenth-century Calvinists is not dealt with adequately. In Scotland and England seventeenth-century Calvinists enlarged upon and amended many of Calvin's concepts. In our Massachusetts theocracy, on the other hand, the opposite development took place. It would be unjust, as many secular critics do, to find Calvin responsible for everything those Massachusetts theocrats did.

*—Reinhold Niebuhr*
*New York, New York*

**Dear Sir:**

At our seminary we are experimenting with a new course entitled "Principles and Philosophy of Applied Theology," which is required of all middler students. It is the "bridging" course to bring together instruction in applied theology and systematic theology. The course covers the functions of the minister as preacher, priest, prophet, educator, counselor, administrator, and community leader. It was taught for the first time this last academic year.

We have found SOCIAL PROGRESS to be a splendid help as we consider two of the functions—prophet and community leader. In fact, we use five issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS as "textbooks." The issues on "The Church and Culture," "United Presbyterians Speak," and "The Minister's Role in Social Education and Action" are particularly valuable. Not only are the materials sound—they also reflect Reformed theology.

*—William G. Jamison*
*Dubuque Seminary*
*Dubuque, Iowa*

**Dear Sir:**

Thank you for that splendid issue of April—on Responsible Freedom. I particularly enjoyed Dr. McClellan's article on Calvinism. The section on "Freedom's Security Today" should be read from all Presbyterian pulpits. I admire his discernment of the problem and his courage in speaking out on so important a problem of our social concern.

*—Helen K. Field*
*Stamford, Connecticut*

**Dear Sir:**

It is my opinion that the article in the April, 1959, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, "Responsible Freedom," is one of the very best. I think this would have tremendous validity and usefulness throughout the church in any number of ways. I do not know of a more definitive statement concerning the Calvinistic interpretation of freedom, with its consequent assumptions for social education and action, than in this article.

I should like very much to see further use made of this article, and want therefore to lend all possible encouragement to planning for such use.

*—Robert S. Thomas, Field Director*
*California (North Coastal)*

# About Books

***The Status Seekers,*** by Vance Packard. David McKay Company, Inc., 1959. 376 pp. with index. $4.50.

Readers of Packard's earlier (1957) book, *The Hidden Persuaders,* know that the man can write fluently and interestingly. Readers of *The Status Seekers* will discover that he can also write carefully as well.

This is a solid book, full of information as well as epigrams and clever phrases. Its chapter titles (examples: "Totem Poles of Job Prestige," "Pecking Orders in Corporate Barnyards," "The Long Road from Pentecostal to Episcopal") are misleading because of their glibness. They are in fact documented and illustrated gold mines of facts and trends that seek to answer the question to which the book is addressed: "What happens to class distinctions among people when most of them are enjoying a long period of material abundance?"

Each of the five social classes that Packard sees in America has its status symbols, living patterns, value standards, even ways of choosing friends. Some of these classes can be achieved with money, others cannot. These symbols, patterns, and standards, according to the author, almost determine how a person votes and which church he joins.

Although few Christians will agree with everything asserted in *The Status Seekers,* most will find the assertions too well documented not to take them seriously. The five parts of the book, Changes of Status, Marks of Status, Strains of Status, Trends, and Implications for the Future, make it a well-organized whole. The seriousness of what it seems to be saying about the health of our society makes it a necessary resource book of individual and corporate insight, especially for the preacher.

***The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective,*** by Kyle Haselden. Harper & Brothers, 1959. 222 pp. with index. $3.50.

Every month brings out its share of "new" books on "the race problem." After reading a few of them, one is inclined to conclude that nothing new remains to be said, except for the gathering of more data. Particularly, one becomes suspicious of any volume that proposes to deal with the problem from a Christian perspective.

Haselden's book is a healthy corrective to a jaded appetite in people who have read "too much" about the race problem, and a good place to begin for someone who hungers for a word from a writer who knows what he is talking about, can think straight and creatively, and is able to write clearly.

The author is a Baptist, born and raised in South Carolina, educated at Colgate Rochester Divinity School, and presently pastor of Baptist Temple in Charleston, West Virginia.

*The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective,* which was delivered last year as one of the Rauschenbusch Lectures, is presented in three parts. Part One documents the church history that lies behind the present segregated pattern prevailing within the Christian community.

Part Two, using the insights of social scientists—not as sources but as data, discusses theologically and creatively the concepts of prejudice, discrimination, segregation, and stereotyping.

Part Three is an original contribution, again using the data of social science as theologically interpreted, showing the relationship between justice and love in secular society and within "the household of faith."

*The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective,* by helping us see how we got this way, describing clearly what we have on our hands, and pointing a way out, really is a distinctively Christian approach to our most distressing problem of faith and culture. And perhaps best of all, no Christian need be ashamed to recommend it to his intellectually astute pagan friends.

***The Wall Between,*** by Anne Braden. Monthly Review Press, 1958. 306 pp. $5.00.

This book has both drama and sociological insight. It is a magnificent autobiography written with restraint, objectivity, and extraordinary compassion and understanding. It ought to be read by ministers and church officers in the North and South, particularly in areas that are struggling toward our church's goal of integration.

*The Wall Between* records the tragedy and terror that came to Anne and Carl Braden when they bought a house for their friends Andrew and Charlotte Wade in a previously segregated white suburb of Louisville, Kentucky. Shocked Southern white liberals, long accustomed to calling the shots for step-by-step integration, turned against the Bradens. Confronted with the united efforts of Negro people moving ahead on their own, they reacted with all the unreasoning fears of the racists.

The dramatic and frightening events, which led to sedition charges against the Bradens and to their imprisonment as alleged Communist agitators, must be carefully studied to assess their sinister significance. Here is how the smear of communism is now being used with devastating effect to block even moderate efforts to desegregate.

The book is particularly helpful in involving the reader in a probing examination of his own emotions. In every chapter one stops to ask himself, "What would I have done under similar circumstances?"

***A History of American Labor,*** by Joseph G. Rayback. The Macmillan Company, 1959. 459 pp. with index. $6.00.

Here is another fascinating history of the American labor movement, which begins, unlike most books on the subject, with fifty pages of careful survey of the colonial economy and the transition to the factory system. The major portion of the book traces the development of early unionism and its relationship to the economic, political, and social his-

tory of the United States. Labor is not considered as a separate entity but as an integral part of American life.

The author, Prof. Joseph G. Rayback, is chairman of the Department of History at Penn State and Acting Head of the university's new Department of Labor Education. He has presented in *A History of American Labor* a well-balanced, scholarly picture of labor's rise to status and power against the background of economic, political, and cultural events and developments along the way.

The main sections are the Colonial and Revolutionary Era, the Transitional Era, and the Modern Era, which takes the reader through the Beck-Hoffa unpleasantness, the expulsion of the Teamsters, and the AFL–CIO convention of December, 1957.

A passing observation for the benefit of our churchmen-readers is that the book is too ponderous, too tightly written for those who cannot spare the time to plow through a classroom textbook. Also, ministers and laymen interested in the social responsibilities of labor would have appreciated at least a passing reference to the church if not a full treatment of its relationship to the labor movement over the years.

***Making Management Human***, by Alfred J. Marrow. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1957. 241 pp. with index. $5.00.

Alfred J. Marrow is exceptionally qualified to write a book on the science of management which is not only important for managers to read but also for ministers. He is president of the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation, where significant research in human relations has been going on. He also teaches psychology at the New School for Social Research and is chairman of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations.

Industrial chaplains, P.I.I.R. students and alumni, ministers in industrial communities or those serving churches where management personnel are in membership, will find this helpful reading despite two or three dubious sallies into theology such as "Work . . . is a negative virtue [in Christianity] salvation from sin, not a positive wish to render life more abundant."

The thesis is that because management's true function is getting jobs done by, for, and with people the modern plant manager needs to know the skills that psychology offers in order to lead persons in a way which makes for their total health and satisfaction.

Some of the chapters are: The Dynamics of Togetherness, The Training of Leaders, Participation: How It Works, The Function of Communication, New Approaches to Group Discussion and Decision Making, etc. Much of the material on understanding the group, audience-centered meetings, role-playing, buzz groups and other techniques for maximum participation will be well known to many Christian educators.

The final chapter, "The Industrial Economy, Mental Health, and Mental Sickness," deals with abnormal behavior and its relationship to the stresses of our industrial economy.

It is indeed encouraging to note the enlightened theory and practice

Marrow and his colleagues are exploring toward the end of sustaining those human values which are threatened by advancing technology today. As churchmen we welcome such applications of psychology to human relations in the plant.

***Drinking and Intoxication: Selected Readings in Social Attitudes and Controls,*** by Raymond G. McCarthy. Yale Center of Alcohol Studies, 1959. 455 pp. with index. $7.50.

The purpose of this very important book, as stated in the editor's preface, is to provide "a comprehensive source of readings which will reflect *attitudes toward drinking and intoxication* among different peoples at different periods." The book also discusses attempts to control the social excesses arising from intoxication—total or modified prohibition, government monopoly of distribution with restrictions on retail purchases, social controls through group sanctions. Drinking customs and attitudes in the United States are given particular attention.

The book consists of 50 essays which deal with (1) the physiological and psychological effects of alcohol, (2) drinking practices, ancient and modern, (3) drinking practices in the United States of America, (4) cultural, religious, and ethical factors, (5) attempts at control.

*Drinking and Intoxication* is undoubtedly the most important comprehensive book for the general student of the problems of alcohol since *Alcohol, Science, and Society*, which was published by the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies in 1945.

Dr. McCarthy is associate professor of health education at Yale University and a long-term member of the remarkable team that constitutes the staff of the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies. He is a co-author, with E. M. Douglass, of *Alcohol and Social Responsibility*. His handbook for educators, *Teen-Agers and Alcohol,* is well known.

***Planned Parenthood,*** by Alfred N. Rehwinkel. Concordia Publishing House, 1959. 119 pp. $2.25.

The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod is doing a remarkable job in publishing a variety of books in the fields of sex and family education. This is their third in 1959, others having treated subjects of dating and of engagement. Dr. Rehwinkel is professor of Christian ethics at Concordia Seminary, and as might be expected, deals carefully and openly with Biblical authority as part of his argument. Thus he deals forthrightly with the question of Onan (Gen., ch. 38) showing that this strange story relates mainly to the levirate law rather than to *coitus interruptus*. Similarly he shows that the "be fruitful and multiply" passage is a promise of offspring rather than an obligation to beget them.

Just as carefully he deals with the arguments of some of Christendom's main branches, showing their strengths and weaknesses. His survey of the history of planned parenthood and his coverage of the types of contraception are well done. The book is simply written, obviously drawn together for married couples who want to think through their stand on this urgent question.

***The Far East,*** by Nathaniel Peffer. The University of Michigan Press, 1958. 489 pp. plus index. $7.50.

This is the second book in a projected 15-volume *University of Michigan History of the Modern World.*

The author, professor of international relations at Columbia University, has firsthand knowledge of the Far East. He has undertaken a number of assignments in the area for our own Department of State, and is the author of several books on the Far East.

This book covers the modern history and discusses the present problems of Japan, Korea, and Communist China. In this region, covering one tenth of the earth's land area, live one fourth of the world's population.

Dr. Peffer analyzes the profound effect of the intrusion of the West into East Asia a hundred years ago, which forced upon East Asia a sudden break with its colorful past. The effects of that break are at the heart of the profound upheaval that is taking place in every part of the region.

This is a scholarly and authentic book, extremely well written, amply and ably illustrated and documented, which should be within reach of every person concerned, by interest or vocation, with the peoples of East Asia and the problems they face.

***What's Wrong with U.S. Foreign Policy,*** by C. L. Sulzberger. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1959. 255 pp. with index. $4.50.

This is a very readable, insightful, fact-packed book on United States foreign relations by a skilled and experienced observer and commentator on world affairs. Mr. Sulzberger is a columnist for *The New York Times.*

The book discusses the overseas activities of our State Department, similarities between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., how foreign Governments think and feel about America. More than one third of the book is devoted to the key issues of the Middle East and of China. In these treatments, as elsewhere in this splendid book, there is broad historical background.

In discussing the China question, Mr. Sulzberger reminds his readers that Mr. Dulles' book, *War or Peace,* in both the 1950 and 1957 editions, advocates the admission to the United Nations of the effective Government of mainland China.

We strongly recommend *What's Wrong with U.S. Foreign Policy* to all who want to understand recent happenings and issues in international relations. This book should be useful as a resource in connection with the 1959–1960 interdenominational social action emphasis on world affairs.

***What We Must Know About Communism,*** by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1958. 348 pp. with index. $3.95.

It is easy to see why this book is a best seller. A famous writing team has chosen a subject that Americans find both irresistible and frightening and has tackled it with straightforward prose.

Part One traces the historical development of communism and the theories of the men who have shaped

party policy. It also points to the rigidity and intellectual and emotional poverty of their heritage, in contrast to the rich and growing traditions of the Western world which "call the ages into conference."

Part Two deals with the Communist Party U.S.A., founded in 1919 as a part of the world communist movement. The "united front" years, the directing and co-ordinating influences of the Comintern and its successor, the Cominform, and their cleverly devised techniques for reaching the American people, approaches to various target groups within our population—organized labor, underprivileged minorities, poor farmers, veterans groups, church bodies, the Armed Forces, youth, and intellectuals—all are carefully analyzed with documentation from communist sources and material from the House Un-American Activities Committee. However, one misses in this analysis some reference to the fact that our free society has been repeatedly threatened by the excessive fear of communism and the exploitation of this fear for destructive political ends.

Part Three exposes the international aspect of communism in the network of allegiances in the Western hemisphere and among the Soviet satellites. This section also suffers from omission. The East-West power struggle cannot be properly understood unless it is seen in the broader context of the many social, political, and economic revolutions of our day. Communist appeal in the less-developed areas cannot be assessed without some fuller understanding of the dilemmas of the uncommitted nations that seek to develop at their own pace free from both East and West domination.

***The Refugee and the World Community,*** by John G. Stoessinger. The University of Minnesota Press, 1956. 239 pp. with index. $4.50.

Here is a fundamental background book for the observance of World Refugee Year (beginning in July, 1959).

In twelve well-written, well-documented chapters, Mr. Stoessinger reviews the history of the refugee problem in the League of Nations period and through World War II, in the era of the International Refugee Organization following World War II, and in the recent years after the demise of IRO in early 1952. The discussion deals with who the refugees are, how they got that way, as well as with the various programs and efforts on the part of the responsible world community to assist them.

The great paradox of our time is that in the age of the Atlantic Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights more human beings have been banished and abandoned than ever before in history.

The author himself has been an international refugee. He writes with deep understanding and compassion, with wide knowledge, and with superb scholarship.

This is a *must* book for people in and out of the churches who are interested in and working on the problems of refugees.

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